

Message Text

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SUBJ: SCC STATEMENT BY COMMISSIONER GRAYBEAL,

NOVEMBER 16, 1973 (SCC-II-026)

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT MADE BY COMMISSIONER
GRAYBEAL AT FINAL MEETING OF SECOND SESSION OF SCC.

SCC-II

STATEMENT BY COMMISSIONER GRAYBEAL

NOVEMBER 16, 1973

I.

MR. COMMISSIONER, AT THIS FINAL MEETING OF THE SECOND
SESSION OF THE SCC, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS APPROPRIATE TO
REVIEW BRIEFLY WHERE WE STAND IN OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE
MUTUALLY AGREED PROCEDURES GOVERNING REPLACEMENT, DISMANTLING
OR DESTRUCTION, AND NOTIFICATION THEREOF FOR STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS AND FOR ABM SYSTEMS AND THEIR COMPONENTS. WE
HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS DURING THIS SESSION; HOWEVER,
MUCH WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE BEFORE WE CAN CONSIDER OUR
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ASSIGNED TASK COMPLETED. ALTHOUGH WE CAN POINT WITH PRIDE

TO OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS, THIS IS NOT THE TIME TO LOOK BACK, BUT RATHER THE TIME AT WHICH WE MUST GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE IMPORTANT SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS STILL TO BE RESOLVED. IT IS THESE PROBLEM AREAS ON WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE SOME BRIEF OBSERVATIONS TODAY.

II.

WE ARE COMPLETING THIS SECOND SESSION OF THE SCC WITH JOINT DRAFT TEXTS, PRELIMINARILY AGREED BY COMMISSIONERS, FOR PROCEDURES FOR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND FOR ABM SYSTEMS AND THEIR COMPONENTS. THESE TEXTS, PREPARED BY OUR WORKING GROUP UNDER THE ABLE LEADERSHIP OF DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS KARPOV AND GEORGI, ACCURATELY REFLECT THE AREAS IN WHICH WE HAVE REACHED PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT AND, EQUALLY AS IMPORTANT, THE AREAS ENCLOSED BY BRACKETS INDICATING THE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES STILL TO BE RESOLVED. IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT WE HAVE BEEN WORKING AD REFERENDUM TO GOVERNMENTS WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT NOTHING IS AGREED UNTIL ALL IS AGREED; THAT IS REFLECTED BY LABELING THESE JOINT DRAFT TEXTS AS "PRELIMINARILY AGREED BY COMMISSIONERS." I BELIEVE THAT THESE JOINT DRAFT TEXTS PROVIDE A SOUND BASIS FOR STUDY IN OUR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS BETWEEN NOW AND THE NEXT SCC SESSION.

III.

IN MY OPINING STATEMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS SESSION, I IDENTIFIED A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC ISSUES WHICH WERE LEFT UNRESOLVED AT THE END OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SCC. THESE INCLUDED NOTIFICATION, THE DEGREE TO WHICH ICBM LAUNCHERS ARE TO BE DISMANTLED OR DESTROYED, THE DEGREE TO WHICH SLBM LAUNCHERS ARE TO BE DISMANTLED OR DESTROYED, AND ACCUMULATION OF BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES IN A CONSTRUCTION STATUS. AT THAT TIME, I ALSO NOTED THE PROBLEM OF ACHIEVING MUTUALLY AGREED ABM PROCEDURES, A SUBJECT ON WHICH THERE HAD BEEN LITTLE DISCUSSION AT THE FIRST SCC SESSION. ALSO CARRIED OVER FROM THE FIRST SESSION WERE NUMEROUS BRACKETED EXPRESSIONS IN THE DETAILED JDT'S. OF THESE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, ACCUMULATION OF SUBMARINES IN A CONSTRUCTION STATUS HAS BEEN RESOLVED, AND WE APPEAR TO BE VERY CLOSE TO AGREE-

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MENT ON ABM PROCEDURES. IN ADDITION, WE HAVE NARROWED THE DIFFERENCES WHICH SEPARATE US ON THE OTHER ISSUES AND HAVE REDUCED THE AMOUNT OF BRACKETED LANGUAGE IN THE REMAINDER OF THE TEXTS THUS FACILITATING THE FOCUSING OF OUR ATTENTION ON THE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES STILL TO BE RESOLVED.

MR. COMMISSIONER, THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS REPRESENT SOLID PROGRESS, PROGRESS MADE BY FRANK DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE VIEWS AND INTERESTS OF BOTH

SIDES. HOWEVER, I FEEL THAT THE SATISFACTION WE CAN DERIVE FROM THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS IS GREATLY RESTRICTED BECAUSE OF REMAINING IMPROTANT ISSUES ON WHICH WE SO FAR HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT. IT IS ON THESE REMIANING ISSUES THAT WE MUST NOW FOCUS OUR ATTENTION. THE FACT THAT THESE ISSUES REMAIN UNRESOLVED AFTER TWO SCC SESSIONS IS CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE OF THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THEM BY BOTH SIDES AND OF THE DIFFICULT NATURE OF THE TASK STILL FACING THE SCC.

IV.

ON THE ISSUE OF NOTIFICATION, THE US SIDE HAS MADE EXTENSIVE EFFORTS TO BRING THE VIEWS OF THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER. THERE HAS BEEN NO RECIPROCAL EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET SIDE TO HELP RESOLVE THIS ISSUE. INSTEAD, THE SOVIET SIDE HAS REPEATEDLY REJECTED US PROPOSALS WITHOUT REFERENCE TO OR DISCUSSION OF THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF THESE PROPOSALS. THE US PROPOSALS ON NOTIFICATION REPRESENT MINIMAL NOTIFICATION PROCEDURES DESIGNED TO ENHANCE THE VIALBILITY OF EXISTING AGREEMENTS BY REDUCING POSSIBILITIES FOR UNCERTAINTIES AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS, AND IN SO DOING TO CREATE A BETTER ENVIRONMENT FOR FUTURE AGREEMENTS AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE CONTINUED IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I HAVE STRESSED THAT THESE ARE SIGNIFICANT BENEFITS WHICH COULD BE REALIZED AT LITTLE COST OR EFFORT AND AT NO RISK. YOU HAVE NOT CHALLENGED THESE VIEWS; YOU HAVE NOT EVEN ADDRESSED THEM. INSTEAD, YOU HAVE RESPONDED BY CLAIMING THAT PRIOR NOTIFICATION IS NOT REQUIRED FOR VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, A POINT ON WHICH WE BOTH GENERALLY AGREE BUT WHICH DOES NOT ADDRESS THE ESSENCE OF THE US NOTIFICATION PROPOSALS. MR COMMISSIONER, I TRUST THAT BETWEEN NOW AND THE NEXT SCC SESSION THE SOVIET

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SIDE WILL CAREFULLY ANALYZE THE US PROPOSALS, EVALUATE THEIR MERITS AND WEIGH THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS FOR BOTH SIDES THAT WOULD BE ACHIEVED BY INCORPORATING THESE PROPOSALS IN OUR PROCEDURES.

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V.

TURNING NOW TO DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION PROCEDURES FOR REPLACED ICBM LAUNCHERS, THERE ARE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THESE PROCEDURES STILL UNRESOLVED. THE BASIC DISAGREEMENT IS CENTERED ON THE EXTENT OF DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION NECESSARY TO SATISFY OUR AGREED CRITERION THAT DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION SHALL BE SUCH THAT REACTIVATION TIME OF UNITS DISMANTLED OR DESTROYED WOULD NOT BE SUBSTANTIALLY LESS THAN THE TIME REQUIRED FOR NEW CONSTRUCTION. IN MY VIEW, THE LIMITED DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION ACTIONS PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE ARE NOT CONSISTENT WITH THIS CRITERION. WE ALSO HAVE FAILED TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE CONCEPT CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH II.4 RELATIVE TO USE OF FACILITIES REMAINING AT DEACTIVATED ICBM LAUNCH SITES. DISAGREEMENT AS TO THE FORMULATION AND THE NEED FOR THIS CONCEPT REMAINS DESPITE A US MOVE TO MEET EXPRESSED SOVIET CONCERNS BY DELETING THE TERM "ANY BALLISTIC MISSILE" AND MAKING THE PARAGRAPH APPLICABLE ONLY TO ICBM'S AND ICBM-LAUNCHERS -- ITEMS CLEARLY WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND ITS PROTOCOL. I HAVE ALSO STATED AND REITERATED THAT THERE IS A DIRECT LINK BETWEEN THE SOLUTION WE REACH ON THIS CONCEPT AND THE SCOPE AND EXTENT OF ICBM LAUNCH SITE DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION PROCEDURES WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE US SIDE. IN PREPARING FOR THE NEXT SESSION OF THE SCC,

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I STRONGLY RECOMMEND SOVIET RECONSIDERATION AND ACCEPTANCE OF THIS CONCEPT. AS I HAVE PREVIOUSLY STATED, THE US SIDE WOULD CONSIDER THE USE OF A DEACTIVATED ICBM LAUNCH SITE FOR THE STORAGE, SUPPORT OR LAUNCH OF ANY ICBMS OR STORAGE OR SUPPORT OF ICBM-CAPABLE LAUNCHERS AS BEING INCONSISTENT WITH

THE INTENT AND PURPOSE OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, ITS PROTOCOL AND THE PROCEDURES WE ARE CHARGED WITH WORKING OUT.

VI.

THERE ARE ALSO UNRESOLVED ISSUES IN THE PROCEDURES FOR DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES AND LAUNCHERS. AS IN THE CASE OF ICBM LAUNCHER DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION PROCEDURES, THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEM CONCERNS THE EXTENT OF DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION NECESSARY TO SATISFY THE REACTIVATION TIME GUIDELINE. IN AN EFFORT TO BRING THE VIEWS OF THE TWO SIDES CLOSER TOGETHER AND RECOGNIZING THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENT CLASSES AND TYPES OF SUBMARINES TO WHICH THESE PROCEDURES WOULD APPLY, THE US SIDE PROPOSED A MODIFICATION TO THAT PART OF THE SOVIET PROPOSED PROCEDURES FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE LAUNCH TUBES TOGETHER WITH THE SUPERSTRUCTURE ABOVE THEM AS IT COULD BE APPLIED TO THE "H-CLASS" SUBMARINE. THE US IN CONSIDERING THIS SOVIET PROCEDURE, WAS APPLYING OUR BELIEF THAT DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION PROCEDURES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED SEPARATELY FOR EACH SYSTEM AND DIFFERENT TYPE OF LAUNCHER BASED UPON THE PERTINENT FEATURES OF EACH. OUR MODIFICATION TO YOUR PROPOSAL WAS A SERIOUS EFFORT TO MOVE OUR NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD AND FIND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PROCEDURES FOR AT LEAST SOME "OLDER NUCLEAR SUBMARINES," SUCH AS THE "H-CLASS," THAT MAY BE SUBJECT TO REPLACEMENT PROCEDURES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS REJECTED THE CONCEPT THAT DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION PROCEDURES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED SEPARATELY FOR EACH CLASS OR TYPE OF SUBMARINE AND HAS THEREFORE REJECTED THE US MODIFICATION TO THIS SOVIET PROCEDURE. THUS AT THE CONCLUSION OF THIS SECOND SESSION OF THE SCC, THE TWO SIDES STILL HAVE CONSIDERABLE WORK TO DO ON THE PROCEDURES FOR DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES AND LAUNCHERS.

VII.

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THE US SIDE PROPOSED THE ADDITION OF A SENTENCE TO PARAGRAPH I.2 OF THE PROCEDURES FOR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IN ORDER TO MAKE COMPLETE WHAT IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE COVERED BY "MODERN SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES." THIS ADDITION IS COMPLETELY CONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSE AND INTENT OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, ITS PROTOCOL AND ASSOCIATED AGREED INTERPRETATIONS. THEREFORE, IT SHOULD BE A NONCONTROVERSIAL COMPLETION OF THE DEFINITION OF "MODERN SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILES." IT IS NOT CLEAR WHY THE SOVIET SIDE HAS REJECTED THE INCLUSION OF THIS ADDITIONAL CLARIFYING SENTENCE. I URGE THE SOVIET SIDE TO INCLUDE THIS SENTENCE AND THUS REMOVE ANY POSSIBLE AMBIGUITY CONCERNING WHAT IS

UNDERSTOOD TO BE A MODERN SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILE.

VIII.

IN SUMMARY, MR. COMMISSIONER, I FEEL THAT DURING THIS SECOND SESSION OF THE SCC WE HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN WORKING OUT THE PROCEDURES CALLED FOR BY THE ABM TREATY AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND ITS PROTOCOL. HOWEVER, WHEN VIEWED ALONGSIDE THE IMPORTANT ISSUES WHICH REMAIN UNRESOLVED, THESE INITIAL SUCCESSES ARE NO CAUSE FOR RELAXATION OF OUR EFFORTS TO COMPLETE THE IMPORTANT WORK WHICH HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO US. ON THE CONTRARY, THE JOINT DRAFT TEXTS WHICH WE WILL TAKE TO OUR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS CLEARLY INDICATE THE NECESSITY FOR EACH SIDE TO INTENSIFY ITS EFFORTS TO FIND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO THE IMPORTANT ISSUES WHICH ARE STILL UNRESOLVED. WITH CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY BOTH SIDES AND A CONTINUATION OF OUR DIRECT AND FRANK EXCHANGES, I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN WORK OUT THE MUTUALLY AGREED PROCEDURES CALLED FOR BY THE ABM TREATY AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND ITS PROTOCOL. THIS WILL BE A PRINCIPAL ITEM ON OUR AGENDA FOR THE THIRD SCC SESSION. GRAYBEAL

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